

Appendix 7

Types of costs involved in fence maintenance

Type of costs	Associated quotation
Hindrance of movement	Miri* a community member on how the fence is repeatedly sabotaged, <i>“Even if the fence works, people destroy it. The villagers end up dismantling it when they bring firewood, fodder etc from the forest. That’s why it breaks and there’s no point in repairing it.”</i> (KP25.2 January 2020)
Time and effort for maintenance	Rabha* on maintenance, <i>“It is very difficult to maintain the fence, especially in the monsoon. Right now it is okay because it is not raining, but in the monsoon there is knee deep muck and so many leeches making it extremely difficult to maintain the fence. And the elephants are extremely smart, smarter than humans too; if they find even one spot where the post is a little rickety, they shall push it down and cross over! So come rain or shine we need to check on the fence.”</i> (DSC.26.12 December 2019)
Payment for maintenance	Saloni* on the payments for maintenance, <i>“We have to give 1 moon [1 moon = 40 kg] of paddy to the community maintainer. Anyway the yields are less and on top of that paying this much is quite a sum - and there is no guarantee that the elephants won’t come despite this.”</i> (KP4.13.3 March 2020)
Material costs for fence maintenance	Koki* on the material costs of maintenance, <i>“They keep asking us to contribute more money. When they first got it, they asked for 500 and then again a few hundreds, and then for bamboos etc every now and then.”</i> (CH1.19.2 February 2020)
Social costs of failed effectiveness for the maintainers	Selen* a community maintainer paid by an external entity, <i>“The people in the village are not good, they lack brains. They had initially proposed that if the fences fail then the damage that the elephants cause should be</i>

	<p><i>recoverable from the community maintainers. Obviously, none of us volunteered to maintain the fence then, but later the authorities explained to them that that's not how it works..." (NM.S.1 February 2020)</i></p> <p>Tayeng*, a community maintainer frustrated with people holding him responsible for all fence related happenings, <i>'...Now, if somebody leaves the gate of the fence open and the elephants come in, is it my fault? Or if the maverick elephant, Laden, comes who sometimes breaks fences crosses over, can I be held responsible? Yet people shout at me. I am so fed up and am seriously thinking of leaving this post [of a community maintainer].'</i> (JC01.5, May 2020)</p>
<p>Economic and social sanctions of shirking/ free-riding</p>	<p>Gogoi* on sanctions, <i>"If somebody is unable to come on the designated day when the fence is to be maintained, then they have to pay a fine which is equivalent to a day's wage. And with that money, a daily wage worker is hired to complete the job."</i> (GM1.29.5, May 2020)</p> <p>Shweta* on the community sanctions, <i>"If it is someone's duty to maintain the fence on a particular day and they don't, and the elephants come on that day then they will be hauled up and asked to pay a fine for shirking their duties."</i> (GM4.29.5, May 2020)</p>
<p>Social cost of lost collective chasing of elephants</p>	<p>Rudra* from Mrigamari*, <i>"When the elephant season starts, initially it is quite a hassle to keep guard all night and chase the elephants away. But then after a few days, you get used to it and chasing elephants is intoxicating, it is so thrilling! All of us friends are together and we go hollering and bursting crackers, shining lights when the elephants come- but now after this fence that has greatly reduced and to be honest, is a little boring right now (...) so we don't mind it not being there, since we were together, we had a great deal of fun."</i> (DSC.26.12 December 2019)</p>

The 'sucker' effect

In Jalokhiabasti*, individuals who did not engage in farming refused to take part in monitoring and maintaining the fence despite it being their turn to, according to the roster. They stated that it was unfair for them to be devoting as much time (approximately 1 hour every couple of weeks) as the farmers because the farmers not only had their houses protected but also their paddy-fields while the non-farmers had only their houses. On faced with this shirking, the farmers abandoned maintaining the fence saying, *“There is a problem. For instance, there are 110 houses here and we know because of the electric fence we are able to grow paddy and reap other benefits too. However, there are some people who are not as dependent on the fence as they go outside [the village] to work. Because of this, they don't even contribute the money required for the upkeep of the fence. This leads to people saying that if these people are not paying up, then neither shall I. This is a major problem. They feel that they are toiling away in the fields all day and then are checking the fence- and that they should not be doing everything alone. Whether or not they go outside to work, everyone should be giving money for maintenance as it is not only the paddy but also the houses that are protected. They then ask themselves, 'why must I do this? I don't need to. If you [non-contributors] are not doing it, then neither shall I. If the elephants come and cause damage, it will damage both of us'.”* (GM1.15.6, June 2020)

In Gorumara*, a village in the tea estate the contributions for fence maintenance stopped as stated by Benedict* a community member, *“About 5-6 households in the middle of the village stopped contributing the weekly Rs 10 for maintenance, saying that now the elephants don't come and that they don't feel the need to be part. Seeing this, the other people also stopped contributing, saying that if the others are not paying then why must we. And thus, they all stopped.”* (GL2.7.3 March 2020)

